1: Métraux--119 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

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Plate XV

1. Large vessel (yambui) in which the Chiriguano make corn beer ferment. Prov.: Ivu. (1/5 nat. size.)

[764]

2. Large vat (yambui) for boiling kiwi. The Chiriguano bury their dead in similar urns. Prov.: Ivu. (1/7 nat. size.)

Bowls (naè). Chiriguano. Bowl No. 1 was found in a funerary urn from Caipipendí. It was originally painted red. Nos. 2 and 4 come from Saladito (upper Pilcomayo); No. 3 from Carurutí. (No. 1 = 1/3; Nos. 2, 4 = 1/3; No. 3 = 2/5 nat. size.)

1: Métraux--135 E-6 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

In 1732, the conversion of the *Chiriguano* was entrusted again to the Jesuits. Fathers Julian Lizardi, José Pons, and Ignacio Chomé entered the southern part of the *Chiriguano* territory and founded the missions of Concepción and Rosario in the valley of Salinas. About the same time, the Franciscans built a missionary center in Tarija and in 1757 they sent missionaries to the *Chiriguano*. In 1767, they reestablished the mission of the Purísima Concepción de Pilipili. After the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767, the Franciscans continued their work with great success. Between that time and the end of the 18th century, the Franciscans founded many new missions north of the Guapay River (Río Grande): Abapo, Mandsi, Cabezas, Piray, Iguiri, Tacuru, Isi, Parapeti, Itau, Tapera, Iguirapucuti, Tacuaremboti, Piriti, and Obaig. Some of these were annihilated when the Indians rose in arms in 1796 and 1798. During the war of independence, the Franciscan missions were completely abandoned. In 1845, the Franciscans resumed the conversion of the *Chiriguano*, and built a series of new missions from Itau to the Parapeti River. The more important of these were San Francisco, Tarairi, Machareti, Santa Rosa, San Antonio de Huacaya, Ivu, and San Francisco del Parapeti. In 1886, a messiah called the *Chiriguano* to arms against the Bolivians by assuring the Indians that they had nothing to fear because their oppressors' guns would only "spit water." The messiah and his followers were defeated near Cuevo.

In 1929, the last missions were secularized, and the *Chiriguano* lost the protection of the Franciscans. Many of them migrated to the Argentine where they were employed as skilled workers in the sugar factories. The Chaco war spread havoc in the *Chiriguano* villages at the foot of the Andes. The *Chané* of the Parapeti River then put themselves under the protection of the Paraguayan army, and today they live around the fort of Toledo, intermarrying with Paraguayans, whom they consider to be their kinsmen, "because of the close relationship between both *Guaraní* dialects." These *Chané* are sometimes erroneously designated as "*Guarayos*."

The 16th- and 17th-century chroniclers estimated the *Chiriguano* population at only a few thousand, exclusive of their *Chané* vassals. In 1810, there were 23,936 *Chiriguano* in the Franciscan missions. This figure includes only half the *Chiriguano* tribe, as the pagan members south of the Parapeti River were not reckoned. Cardús (1886, p. 242) gives the following estimate of the *Chiriguano* during the second half of the 19th century: In the province of Azero, 18,000; in the Cordillera and in the region of Izozo, 20,000; in the Chaco, from 5,000 to 6,000. Of these, only 8,000 were baptized and 3,167 lived under missionary care. In 1928, the total *Chiriguano* population was said to be 20,000. Today, after the Chaco war and constant migrations to the Argentine, their number must be greatly reduced.

ARCHEOLOGY

Few archeological finds were made in the region occupied by the *Chiriguano*. Nordenskiöld (1924 a, p. 40) mentions burial urns and ancient sites on the Parapeti River, and similar burials were discovered at Tarupaya. In some graves the dead were seated and were covered with several inverted bowls piled on one another. These bowls have hollow rims filled with pellets. Nordenskiöld refers also to direct burial in urns which show the characteristic corrugations of the *Chiriguano* and *Guaraní* ware.

At Yumbia, in the Province of Tarija, at the borderline between *Chiriguano* and *Quechua* territory, the present author obtained fragments of pots with hollow rims, an anthropomorphic vessel with ring-shaped body covered with a red slip, and a specimen of beautiful stone panpipes with

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

852 304 **Initiation rites.**—Some time between the ages of 7 and 12, a boy had his lower lip perforated by a shaman, who used for this purpose a sharp deer horn. The ceremony was performed only when a sufficiently large group of boys in the village was ready for it. Before they underwent the ordeal, the boys were told that they must show fortitude and that subsequently they could give up the affirmative "ú, ú" for the masculine "tà." A short period of fasting followed the operation.

851 191 **Marriage.**—In contrast to the free life led by Chaco girls before marriage, *Chiriguano* girls were expected to keep their virginity and were carefully watched by their mothers.

583 191 Chomé (1819 b, p. 202) says that a suitor provided his prospective father-in-law with crops and game. This statement suggests bride service, a custom widely spread among *Guaraní*-speaking tribes and one observed by the *Chané* of the Parapeti River a few decades ago. The bridegroom settled temporarily or permanently with his wife's family.

591 595 622 556 Polygyny, at least in recent times, was restricted to chiefs or to men of wealth. A man's wives generally lived together in harmony, but in many cases they were kept in separate villages. Polygynous wives were often sisters or a mother and her daughter.

763 **Death.**—If the condition of a person was deemed fatal, he was surrounded by a group of women who gave vent to the most spectacular outbursts of grief. This anticipation of the funeral was regarded as a manifestation of affection and respect. The deceased, painted and

764 dressed in his best clothes, was placed squatting in a large chicha jar and was buried, accompanied by his possessions and some food, in the hut where he had lived. The urn was covered with a large jar or plate.

765 The closest female relatives cut their hair and deposited it on the grave. The widow, her head covered with a rag, mourned for a whole year, wailing at certain hours during the day with all the appearance of profound sorrow. She could not resume normal life until a close relative of her dead husband had suggested that she forget her grief. A drinking bout marked the end of mourning.

775 The soul on its journey to the land of the dead (iwoka) faced many ordeals. It had to walk under a wall of fire, over a boiling lagoon, between two onrushing rocks, and between the blades of gigantic scissors. Finally, the deceased reached a land where the dead lived in abundance and joy. This pleasant heaven was open only to those who had never violated traditional custom.

WARFARE

721 **Intertribal warfare.**—Raids to steal crops or cattle or to kidnap women were the main causes of intertribal warfare. The head chief convoked the lesser, i.e., village chiefs, harangued them and listened to their advice. Women performed a special dance and sang to stimulate the courage of the warriors, whom orators constantly exhorted to fight.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

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PLATE 41.—**Chiriguano pottery and urn burials.** *Top, left:* and *bottom:* Pottery making. *Top, right:* Urn burials at Caipipendi, Chaco, Bolivia. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

[End Plate 2]

/214/

753 had asked for her as his wife, a proposal which had not been
754 accepted; but it must be noted that the Indians attribute every death to sorcery.

765 The loss of this child was greatly mourned by relatives
● [764] and others, and her parents, who loved her very much, burned all of the clothes and things that she had, in addition to having buried with her the best and abundant clothing which her father had just brought her from the Argentine Republic. The girl had three donkeys which had been given to her by her father. They sold them in order not to see them any more, in order not to be reminded of their late daughter each moment and immediately weep.

855 I have related this event so that my readers may know
765 that the Chiriguano love their children whether male or female, so that they may see the grief they feel, and so that they may know that in case of hydrophobia the medicine which I administered to the girls Ana and Delina is a good remedy; after the last fever they are now completely well (1).

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1. If some new missionary or other readers may not know of it, let them now know that ammonia drunk as drops in water and placed on snake bites and bites of other poisonous animals or insects is very efficacious. In ignorance of having been bitten by a spider, I suffered the consequences for seven months and got well as soon as I applied ammonia to it. For another bite I used ink very efficaciously; it is enough to paint the bitten part with it.

Deformed Children

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732 It is not easy to ascertain why the Chiriguano kill their children who are born deformed. Some writers have stated that they do it so that all will be valiant warriors, but this reason is not satisfactory because deformed women are not found either, and certainly women are not good for war.

/291 cont./

763 tears, because the Indian had taken her as his wife until death, and with his death she loses everything. She will now be poor.

When the death pangs approach, the sick person enjoins them to cry as much as possible, admonitions which are made before he loses the use of speech. The said admonition is not addressed to the one who in a short time is going to be left a widow, but to the relatives and friends, because the widow already knows that she must bewail the absence of the one who was her companion (2).

[578] [627] 2. If the dying man believes that he has been poisoned, before he loses the use of speech he charges his nearest relatives to take vengeance after the days of mourning, if the supposed enemy is known.

The death pangs come, the death rattle begins, his face pales, his nose thins, his lips and tongue become dry, his eyes turn glassy, his eyelids and eyelashes are paralyzed; the dying man begins to grab at his blankets or anything else with his hands, he looks from side to side and seems to be insensible of the objects that surround him. He is about to fade away. Then the persons around him understand how close the fatal moment is. At the impossibility of helping the one who is struggling, who is about to be inert, they begin to utter the wails which are the precursors of death.

They do not have to wait long; the dying man gives a last breath and begins to expire, until his mouth is wide open, which is observed by the widow, who gives a cry, the sign that her
• 764 husband has now died. Then the funeral formally begins; they dress the deceased in his best clothes, comb him very carefully, paint his face and feet with palm-Christi oil and achiote, double up the knees, put his crossed hands there, and tie him up thus, so that on the day of burial he will easily go into the clay pot that they have prepared beforehand, where they will put him when it is time to be buried.

/291 cont./

•764 Now the funeral begins, which consists of crying as hard as possible, men and women, and shedding real or false tears. While they are crying they also dig the grave, /292/ which at most is two meters deep. The weeping lasts all night without rest and is accompanied by strict fasting, because so long as the deceased is visible, it would be a dishonor to take food. If there are young children in the house, they are taken by the neighbors or by some relative who takes care of them with all humanity through everything, since the unfortunate ones, when they see so much confusion, act stupid and go after the first person who shows them any tenderness. To wet their mouths and in order to cry unceasingly, those who attend the funeral, drink a little new chicha, if there is any; otherwise they are content with a little water (1).

[824]

1. Those who cannot shed tears because they do not mourn the death of the deceased put chili pepper in their eyes, and with this, which they call a medicine, the tears fall copiously.

On the next day, when the grave has already been dug, they first put the deceased in the vessel, Yambúi. They also put in a small jar of chicha, a little parched meal, a flintstone, a steel, tinder, fresh maize husk, and tobacco, a live parrot or chicken, a bow and arrow, and other things which belonged to the deceased, and they close it with another jar, and if the dead person is a nursing infant, they put in its sepulcher a small jar of the [795] mother's milk. All these things are necessary for the journey to the other life and clearly indicate that the Chiriguano have an idea, although a material one, of the immortality of the soul.

764 795 Now enclosed in the funeral urn, they lower it into the hole by means of ropes, and meanwhile the cries redouble, until it disappears below the ground. The body is placed with the face toward the east, because they all want the deceased to attain glory, the paradise which is shown by the light of the sun. Placed thus, the deceased or his soul will not always be going about in search of happiness; he will run toward the sun as iron or steel goes toward a magnet.

/301 cont./

799 177 this time has hardly come, because the infidel in the Chiriguano missions does not leave followers, since his children have almost all been baptized. They are getting old and dying without being replaced.

797 763 177 Some of them are baptized in order to make the missionary happy and in order that the family will not suffer any blame, but several times it has happened that as a dying person who had no thought of being made a Christian breathed his last or gave almost no sign of life, the relatives hastily called. Finally, others [764] accept and profess being Christians so that the missionary will permit or tolerate the burial of the body in their own home, and this is the first thing that the sick person asks for after being catechized, for which reason many difficulties are encountered. When it is hinted to the sick person /302/ that he must repent, he either denies completely that he is guilty before God or he does not abhor his past actions. All of these difficulties occur at the beginning of a mission; everything changes with the passage of time, and there is scarcely any which is not in the end easily overcome (1).

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1. When a mission is founded, it is ordered that the missionary be told about sick people so that he can comply with the charity of Christ, to make them know the truth, the reward or punishment which awaits them in eternity. For just this reason he reprimands those who hide the sick. When the latter explicitly refuse to be baptized, and the missionary does not manage to convince them of the error, he leaves them. Such cases have occurred.

273 For the Indian infidel, drunkenness is a very honorable act, an action which indicates greatness, friendship, and benevolence, and he glories in it, saying clearly and with great satisfaction, Asagüipo ma, I have got drunk. They say it to anybody and appear before anybody in this state. Nevertheless, [797] when corrected and admonished by the missionary, if they do not hide it when he is inspecting the town, at least they avoid appearing at the mission house.

SvNordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

XXVII.

Urn-Burial.

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The Chiriguano and Chané bury their dead in urns. The geographical distribution of interment in urns has been treated by several authors, particularly by PREUSS, BOMAN, OUTES, TORRES and PATER SCHMIDT. We can distinguish between two different methods of urn-burial in America. In one case the whole body has been stuffed into the urn, in the second the urn was only used for after-interment of the fleshless, and not unfrequently, painted bones. This secondary burial of the bones naturally requires smaller urns than those needed when the whole body is put into them. In some places children have been deposited in urns and adults in another manner.

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It is natural that the conceptions on which direct or secondary urn-burial are based must be very different. The secondary burial of the bones in baskets instead of urns is of course more in conformity with this latter mortuary custom than immediate burying in urns. Secondary interment in baskets and in urns can also occur in the same cemetery. The basket is a substitute for the urn or vice versa[1]).

The essential thing in the secondary burial of the bones is their preservation which is considered most important. The direct interment in urns resembles burial in stone vaults and the like. The whole body is to be preserved, not only the bones. This should be kept in mind when we study the distribution of different kinds of urn-graves. EHRENREICH[2])

[1]) KARL V. D. STEINEN (3) P. 504.
[2]) (5).

5tNordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
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and above all BOMAN have assumed that urn-burial of adults is a Guarani custom. The latter supports this statement by the fact that this mode of burial is supposed to be very uncommon in the western zone of civilization and that it was chiefly used by the Guarani-Tupi tribes.

As this mode of burial is characteristic of the Indians I am treating of here, I will take up the question for closer examination and endeavour to make a map of the distribution of differents modes of urn-burial in S. America. Some finds of burial-urns, lately made by UHLE, makes the origin of direct urn-burial a subject which ought to be brought up for discussion again. I will here endeavour to show that direct urn-burial is chiefly an element of western culture, which most likely spread to the Tupi-Guarani tribes at a comparatively late period.

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The Tupi-Indians on the coast of Brazil had this form of burial. This was, however, not the commonest mode of interment there. Direct burial in the earth was more usual as pointed out by TORRES.[1])

LERY,[2]) YVES D'EVREUX,[3]) CLAUDE D'ABBEVILLE[4]) PERO DE MAGALHAES[5]) and NOBREGA[6]) only mention burial directly in the ground. Of these LERY is one of the greatest authors of the 16th century who has written about the Tupi-Indians on the coast of Brazil. THEVET,[7]) VASCONCELLOS,[8]) the author of *Principio e origem dos indios de Brazil*,[9])

[1]) (2) P. 400.

[2]) P. 384. »Apres que la fosse aura esté faite, non pas longue à nostre mode, ains ronde et profonde comme un grand tonneau à tenir le vin, le corps qui aussi incontinent apres estre expiré, aura esté plié, les bras et les iambes liez à l'entour, sera ainsi enterré presques tout debout:«

[3]) P. 126.

[4]) P. 329.

[5]) P. 210.

[6]) P. 93.

[7]) P. 219.

[8]) P. LXXXIII.

[9]) P. 105.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

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and (MANOEL TRISTA)[1]) mention urn-burial. The first two also speak of other methods of burial. SOARES DE SOUZA, who has given such an exellent description of the customs and habits of the Indians on the Brazilian coast describes in detail the Tupinambá-Indians' mode of burial. According to him grown up people are buried in underground vaults and only the children of the chiefs in urns. For the chiefs they apparently dug good-sized underground vaults where the remains were protected from pressure or contact with the earth.[2])

Thus the Tupi-Indians on the coast of Brazil buried their dead in dug-out vaults or in great urns. As I have already pointed out the difference between these modes of interment is not very great. In the vault, and still more so in the urn, the body was protected from the earth. It is told of the Quichua that after the Roman Catholic priests had introduced burial in the earth (without coffins) these Indians unearthed their dead in the cemeteries and took them to their own burial ground in order that the earth might not press upon them. Something similar is related by JARQUE[3]) from the Guarani-indians in Paraguay. That urn-burial is not practised by the Mundrucú and Apiacá, who are Guarani Indians, is a known fact. The Oyampi, and the Omagua other Guarani tribes, practises secondary urn-burial.

RUIZ DE MONTOYA mentions urn-burial among the

[text continues on p. 188]

[1]) P. 1293.

[2]) P. 307. »e tem-lhe feito na mesma casa e lanço onde elle vivia, uma cova muito funda e grande, com sua estacada por de redor, para que tenha a terra que nao cala sobre o difunto, e arman-lhe sua rede em baixo de maneira que não toque o morto no chão; and P. 308 »E quando morre algum moço, filho de algum principal, que não tem muita idade, metem-no em cocoras, atados os joelhos com a barriga, en um pote em que elle caiba, e enterrem o porte na mesma casa debaixo do chão.«

[3]) T. 3, P. 82.

S:Nordenskiöld E-5,Y (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
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South American Indians 53

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Map. 16. The distribution of urnburial in South-America.

● = Primary urnburial. ○ = Secondary urnburial. ■ = Primary and secondary urnburial, or a combination of both occur. □ = Urnburial occurs. Unknown if it is primary or secondary urnburial.

51Nordenskiöld E-5,#(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
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Guarani in Paraguay. According to TECHO[1]) the dead were deposited in the ground. Earthenware bowls were inverted over the faces of the dead. Direct urn-burial is the typical mode of interment among the Chiriguano and Chané.

Coming to the Andine culture zone we find that urn-burial of adults has had a very wide distribution. Urn-burials of this kind have been found in the Argentine at Carmen in Valle de Lerma, in the province of Salta, at San Pedro in the province of Jujuy, at Pampa Grande and other places and on the coast of Peru at Ica, Ancon and Cañete. At Ica urn-burials seem to have been quite usual. UHLE, who made a careful examination of them assigns them to the later Ica period[2]). UHLE has also found urn-burial at Ancon from the period previous to the Inca.

Urn-burial of adults also occurs in several places on the coast of Equador. This mortuary custom has also been usual at the Rio Ucayali and at the Upper Amazon where it occurs alternately with secondary urn-burial. A combination of these two different kinds of urn-burial was practised by at least two tribes the Cocama and Passé. The dead body as a whole was first deposited in a large earthenware vessel and then when the flesh had decayed the bones were put in a smaller urn. Direct urn-burial seems to have reached some tribes near the Rio

1) »believing the souls are buried with the bodies, cover the faces of the dead with concave dishes» P. 670 I regret not to have had the opportunity of verifying this quotation from the original Latin edition.

2) (4), P. 365. Da hingegen sind die in der späteren Ica Zeit üblichen Bestattungen in Gestalt eiförmiger Mumienbündel, die in grosse irdene Töpfe gesetzt wurden, wohl als eine Fortbildung des ursprünglichen Proto-Nazca Typus zu betrachten. Erst die Inca brachten an der Küste wieder einen neuen Mumientypus auf, den man in Gräbern der mittelperuanischen Küste vielfach findet: regellos in allerhand Tücher eingeschlagene einfach gefaltete Körper.»

In a letter to me of the 27 September 1919 UHLE writes: »Natürlich gab es Unmassen von Urnengräber im Thale von Ica (letzte Zeit, zusammenfallend mit der incaischen.).»

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
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Branco from the Upper Amazon River. It is not known if direct or secondary urn-burial was practised in the Cauca-Valley.

In northern Argentine in the region of the Diaguita it has been quite a usual custom to bury children in prettily painted urns, whereas grown up people were buried in the earth. As I have already pointed out urn-burial of adults has not been uncommon in the Argentine. At Pampa Grande AMBROSETTI found face-urns containing skeletons of children above an urn with the skeleton of an adult. I used to incline to the belief that the last mentioned burial-urn belonged to an older cultural period than the infant burial-urns, because they were not found on the same level. This was most likely premature. Presumably all the burial-urns at this place are coeval, as AMBROSETTI[1]) assumes, in the same way as the skeleton found by BOMAN[2]) at Arroyo del Medio is presumably coeval with the infant burial-urns which he found above it.

At Pampa Grande adults have most likely been placed deeper down in the earth than the children. The same rough earthenware used for the big urns has also been employed for some of the infant burial-urns.

UHLE[3]) has endevaoured to make clear the relative ages of the cemeteries found in North Argentine and he comes to the conclusion, after having revised AMBROSETTI's[4]) archaeological work from La Paya, that burial-urns of the Santa Maria type or of a type related to it went out of use during the Inca period or perhaps before it.

He points out that AMBROSETTI at Pampa Grande found no objects from the times of the Inca. So it is obvious that urn-burial began in a pre-Incan period both on the coast of Peru and in the Diaguita territory. *It follows from*

[1]) (5) P. 89.
[2]) P. 838.
[3]) (3).
[4]) (6).

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,½(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
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that I have said that it is not correct to describe urn-burial of adults as typical of the Tupi-Guarani Indians in particular. It is most likely a western cultural element which first spread eastwards to the east coast of S. America and then was carried back from east to west by the Chiriguano.

As has been already mentioned inhumation of adults in underground vaults as also in urns has been performed with the object of protecting the deceased from the weight of the earth. Interment in underground sepulchres has been extremely common throughout the whole of the western culture zone. Secondary burial of the bones in urns, baskets or some other receptacle must, as already mentioned, be based on quite a different conception. This mortuary custom as far as I know is not known from the western culture-zone.

The following table and map show the distribution of different kinds of urn-burial in S. America. On examining an urntomb it is not always easy to determine what kind of burial has been employed. Thus it has happened during my excavations that I have found urns in which the remains of the skeleton consisted of tiny fragments of bone. Some accounts of direct urn-burial of adults must probably be deemed very doubtful.

F-6,(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chirigano SF10
Chaco SF8
South American Indians S3

Table 19.

Urnburial in South America.

Number on the map.	Geographical distribution		Primary urn-burial.	Secondary urn-burial.	Only children buried in urns.	The face of the dead covered with one or more dishes.	Literature
A.	Ancon; near Lima.	Peru.	×				Uhle (4 b) P. 30; Bertrich P. 58.
A.	Ica.	"	×				" (4) P. 365.
A.	Cañete.	"	×				Boman P. 261.
AE.	Rio Doce.	Brazil.	× ?				Ehrenreich (4) P. 65.
AF.	La Rioja.	Argentina.	×				Ambrosetti T. 1. P. 515.
E.	Chañar Yaco.	"	×				Lafone Quevedo (4).
E.	Carmen de Lerma, Salta	"	×				Boman P. 255.
E.	Pampa Grande.	"	×				Ambrosetti (5).
E.	Prov. Salta.	"	×				Boman P. 278.
E.	Santiago del Estero.	"	×				" P. 278.
E.	San Pedro, Jujuy.	"	×				" P. 259.
EA.	Guarayos.	Bolivia.	?	?			Nordenskiöld (10).
EB.	Rio Guaporé.	Brazil.	?	?			" (11).
EC.	Ature.	Venezuela.		×			Preuss. P. 59; Gilij T. 2, P. 107
ED.	Las Pavas and Santa Rosa.	Columbia.	?				" P. 131.
EE.	Esmeralda, Manabi and Guayas.	Ecuador.	×				Rivet and Verneau P. 130, after Gonçalès Arèrez; Buchwald P. 8.
EF.	Bestween Arequipa and Puno.	Peru.	?				Preuss P. 61.
EH.	Llo-lleo.	Central-Chile.	×				Ovarbix (2) P. 14.

EP.	Rio Uruguay.			×			Torres (2) P. 402. Postcolumbian. Bones painted.
ES.	Desaivado.	Matto-Grosso.		?			Waehneldt P. 214.
M	Moxuda, Mojos.	Bolivia.		×			Nordenskiöld (10).
N.	Upper Rio Paraná.		×				Mayntzhusen P. 468; Boman P. 268.
O.	The delta of Paraná.		×				Boman P. 269.
R.	Valencia.	Venezuela.		×		•	Marcano P. 10—11.
OV.	Xebero	Mayntas.	×				[Maroni] P. 83.
OX.	Paulahata. Amaripa. Ujaza.	Rio Branco.	×				Martius (1) P. 635.[1])
2E.	Geytata.	Rio Parabyba.	×				Boman P. 273.
3D.	Cocama.	Mayntas.	×	×			[Maroni] P. 85.
4.	Chiriguano.	Bolivia.	×				
5.	Chané.	Bolivia. Argentina.	×				
6.	Matato-Vejos.	" "	×				
6L.	Indians.	Rio Branco.		×			Martius (1) P. 636.
7L.	Indians near	Cartagena.		×			Oviedo T. II. P. 449.[2])
7P.	Oyampi, Palicurs.	French Guiana.		×			Boman P. 272.
8L.	Roamayna.	Mayntas.		×			[Maroni] P. 85.
9X.	Pussé.	Amazonas.	×	×			Rotheiro da Viagem P. 50.
13.	Karajá.	Rio Araguaya.		×			Krause P. 330—331.
31.	Rucuyennes. (Ojana)	Guiana.		×			Crevaux P. 121.[3])

[1]) »Rings um den an einen Pfosten befestigten todten Körper wird in geeignetem Abstand Feuer unterhalten; zwei Indianer sind immer beschäftigt, alle Feuchtigkeit an ihm zu entfernen und rücken die Feuer, deren Rauch durch verbrannte Tabakblätter und Harze vermehrt wird, immer näher, bis eine vollkommen dürre Mumie bereitet ist, die man sofort in einer thönernen Urne begräbt.«

[2]) »é despue despidan los huesos, de la carne é quedan limpios embixanlos é meten los huesos é cabeças assi embixados en olles é tinajas é assi los guardan en casa o de fuera junto á la casa«. That is the oldest description of Urnburial known from S. America.

[3]) The corpse is burnt and the ashes are preserved in a jar which is afterwards buried.

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Table 19.

Urnburial in South America.

Number on the map	Geographical distribution		Primary urn-burial.	Secondary urn-burial.	Only children buried in urns.	The face of the dead covered with one or more dishes.	Literature
38.	Tupinambá.	Brazil.	×		×*		Thevet P. 918; Purchas P. 1093.*); Vasconcellos P. LXXXIII; Principio e Origem P. 105; Soares de Sousa P. 308.*)
39.	Guajiro.	Colombia.		×			Candelier P. 220; Barthes P. 436.
42.	Cariguna.	Rio Madeira.		×?			Keller-Leuzinger P. 104.
46.	Conibo.	Rio Ucayali.	×				De Creq P. 294. (Markham) P. 63.
66.	Omagua.	Maynas.		×			Montoya P. 50.
I.	Guarani.	Paraguay.	×				Martius (1) 480, P. 489.
VO.	Jumana, Caixxana.	Amazonas.	×				
Not on the map	Quimbaya.	Colombia.		×			Restrepo Tirado P. 43.*)
»	Caingué.	Misiones.				×	Reproger P. 133.
»	Payagué.	Rio Paraguay.				×	» P. 140; Azara (1) T. 2. P. 143.
»	Puna de Jujuy.	Argentina.			×		Eric von Rosen (4) P. 112.
»	Catamarca and other parts of Northern Argentina.				× *		Boman.
6d.	Northern Venezuela		×				Spindler P. 327.
6e.	Prov. de Mallorca and Cautin.	Southern Chile.	?				Guevara (1) P. 273.

Smithsonian 8-8,1(1908-1918, 1919) 1920
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South American Fishes 33

M.	Manaos.	Rio Amazonas.	?				Keller-Leuzinger P. 56; Martius (1) P. 496; Koch-Grünberg. Letter to the author.
c.	Marajo.	"		x			Natto.
d.	Cuyaba.	Brasil.		x			Castelnau.
e.	Prov. Sara, Santa Cruz.	Bolivia.	x				Nordenskiöld (10).
l.	São Paulo.	Brasil.	x				Ihering (4) P. 31; Herrasti P. 389.
p.	Island of Arcka.		x	x			Bonap. P. 274; Jobbelin de Jobis.
s.	Rio Grande do Sul.	South Brasil.	x?	x			Perugia P. 131; Bonap. P. 265; v. Ihering (1) P. 76.
Not on the map	Saipina.	Bolivia.			x		Nordenskiöld (11).
r.	San Juan.	Argentina.			x		Dereuxeuffy (4) P. 183.
ka.	Sierra de Parija.	Venezuela.	?				De Rouy (1) P. 402.
Not on the map	Rio Yaguri.	Brasil.	?				Koch-Grünberg (2) T. 2. P. 313.
s.	Tarapoto.	Bolivia.				x	Nordenskiöld (11).
ka.	Kingú.	Brasil.		x			P. Schultz P. 1075.

† A Treatise of Brasil, written by a Portugall which had long lived there. Purchas his pilgrimes. London 1625. «After he is dead they wash him and paint him verie brauely, as they paint their mouthes: and after this they cover him with Cotton Yarne, that nothing is seene of him, and put a couering over his face, and sitting they put him in a great Vessage of vessell that they have vnder the Earth for that purpose, and doe cover it in such manner that no Earth may come to him and the vessel they cover with earth, making him a house where euerie day they carrie him meat.» The author probably *Manoel Trista* — an Enformatro do Collegio da Baya.

‡ The corpse is buried and the ashes are preserved in a golden urn which is kept in a vault.

Cat. No. 5916 4.

/157 cont./ One old woman who was supposed to know Chané very well said she would teach me after she had reached the realm of the dead. Since the Indians in this happy place are not bothered by whites, and not by ethnographers either, the promise of the old woman was not very friendly,

The Chané use their old language for many expressions that are abusive, for example, karitimisóyti, which they translate as son of a w---e. An invitation to coitus is called pocóne. There are also songs in their /158/ old language, for example, siparakinánoyé, siparakinánoyé, siparakinánoyé, tonéya, tonéya, tonéya, which they did not know how to translate.

From the Rio Parapiti I again visited the Chiriguano chief Taruiri in the Caipipendi valley, where I sought to buy as many old ornaments and other valuables as possible. Besides Taruiri I also visited another chief, Yumbay, an old worthy who was always embracing me and saying: "I am Yumbay." /Fig. 77 appears here./ "Yes, the great, mighty Yumbay," I chimed in, which made the poor reduced fellow feel very flattered.

From the Caipipendi valley I went by way of Pipi to the mission at Ivu. This lies in an arid, lonely region with little water, near several huge mountains, and the life there must be dreadful. When smallpox was very prevalent in the region, Father Bernardino successfully prevented the disease from spreading into the mission by vaccinating all the Indians living at the place. Father Bernardino is a truly unselfish human being, a genuine missionary. As a result of the vaccination, no one in Ivu died of smallpox, whereas the sinister disease raged frightfully among the whites a few miles from the station. It almost served them right. If anyone died of smallpox, the corpse was laid on a table decorated with paper flowers and a crucifix. Around this the other swine would get drunk and /159/ continue to drink obligos (1) until they were finally lying on the table.

1. If a person drinks obligo with another, the latter must drink up.

Ce 752 /217 cont./ of boiling the water because they wanted to kill the macroscopic animals in it. The Chané sometimes use fresh leaves to bandage wounds.

Ee 764 Ee [763] If, in spite of the medicine man's efforts, the /218/ spell cannot be lifted and the Chané or Chiriguano Indian dies, he or she is buried under the hut in a large clay vessel. Before the dying one is quite dead, or immediately after death, he is flexed so that the knees come under the chin and the arms are laid crosswise over the chest. On the Rio Parapiti there lived for many years a Chané Indian who had been flexed in this way, but who, before he was stuffed into the grave urn, was saved by a white man. The deceased, dressed, with a water calabash at his knee, [Ee 775] is set into the vessel. The water is supposed to be taken along by the deceased when he wanders about on the mountains, the Chané chief Vocapoy told me. The vessel is buried in the hut, and another vessel is put upside down over it as a lid.

Ee 768 At Tatarenda, near Yacuiba, I heard that the hut is burned down after the burial. This, however, is not the usual thing. On the contrary, the hut is abandoned for a time after the burial and then moved into again later on. This is what happened, for example, in a Chané village on the Rio Itiyuro, where I was shortly after a burial.

Ce 764 Cce [415] The large maize-beer vessels (Fig. 113) are used as coffins. If there is a shortage of vessels, burial often takes place in another way. In a Chané village, Copéri, on the Rio Parapiti, a child was buried in a skin under the hut shortly before my arrival.

These Indians spend their lives on the graves of their dead relatives, and often the hut is so full that a later burial in old pots becomes necessary.

"The Christian carries his dead far from his house. We Indians, who feel a great love for them, keep them in our houses." That is approximately what Vocapoy once said to me when the conversation turned to this strange method of burial.

/218 cont./

766 754 825 If a Chiriguano is killed by a jaguar, he is /219/ buried with his head downward, so that he will not go about as such an animal. This notion of a jaguar who was a human being is widespread, especially among the Quichua /Quechua/, where this

764 415

Fig. 113. Chiriguano grave.
Caipipendi.

766 754 825 strange animal, as has been mentioned, is called uturunco (cf. p. 12 /untranslated/). If a fox howls at night near the village, someone will die.

763 825

Ec /219 cont./
765
302
[587]

If her husband dies, the wife is supposed to cut her hair short. /220/ If she loved him very much, she does it twice. It is not until her hair has grown long again that she may enter into another marriage. If her father or mother dies, she cuts her hair short; if her child, her brother, or brother-in-law dies, she cuts it moderately short. Long hair means that it reaches to the shoulders. My question as to whether the men also cut their hair in mourning was answered with laughter. They content themselves with shortening only the longest. The men may not marry until about a year after the death of the wife.

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If the woman is in mourning, she wears no ornaments. When I was with Maringay, his daughter-in-law had lost her little child. Though all the other women in the village wore many necklaces, she did not have a single ornament. She also did not take part in any festivity.

Ea
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The Indians whom the missionaries baptize do not always like having to bury their dead in a cemetery. They at least want the dead to have water with them in the grave.

One does not free oneself so easily from the old, inherited ideas, in order to exchange them for new ones. /Pl. 18 appears here./

/221/ Chapter Thirteen

000 On the Life of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians (Continuation)

Ugly Words, Homosexuality, Suicide, Sense of Modesty, etc.

In the language of the whites there are, as is well known, a number of words that may not be used in polite society. Persons of the same sex may mention certain parts of the body only by their Latin names, whereas persons of different sex, as a rule, do not speak of them at all to one another. One word may be regarded as ugly, whereas another word for the same thing may be used at will. The reason why a word is forbidden is undoubtedly often difficult to determine.

846
[844] come into the world. But, in observance of a custom largely prevalent among the Indians of South America, the husband pretends for several days to be lying in childbed, and then keeps an invalid diet!

755 Illnesses are treated by medicine men, who by incantations and other
756 resorts of magic try to expel the evil.

●764 After a death, the corpse is placed in a large earthenware jar, which
763 is put into a hole dug in the ground. According to what a Spanish-speaking Chiriguano Indian told me, it was formerly customary to sever, by incision, the spine of a dying person, in order to shorten his death agony. Before life was extinct, the body was thrust into a huge jar, into which also ornaments, weapons, food and drink were put, the mouth of the vessel then being carefully closed up with an earthenware platter. It was important that the lid was put on before the dying person had drawn his last breath. By doing this, it was thought that the soul of the dead [775] would for a time be held in confinement, so that it would not be able to work any harm on the living.[1] The jar was afterwards interred inside the dead person's hut.

181 With the exception of the Chané — a tribe on the same cultural level as the Chiriguano — the latter seem to me a people considerably superior to the neighbouring tribes, whether inhabiting the mountain regions or the Gran Chaco. Both the mountain- and the Chaco Indians are dirty and of uncleanly habits, whilst the Chiriguano on the contrary [515] are very observant of bodily cleanliness. For example, the Chiriguano women bathe every day, and often several times a day. Among the [831] Choroti, the girls are in the habit of living in loose sexual relations with [171] a plurality of men, before marrying, whilst the Chiriguano girls, as a rule, preserve their chastity intact until they marry. Also as regards material culture, the Chiriguano and the Chané are on a higher plane than their present-day neighbours. When compared with the ceramics of the [323] peoples of the Chaco, the maize-beer vessels, for instance, that are characteristic of the Chiriguano and the Chané, stand out as veritable show pieces.

181 Of old, the Chiriguano have a reputation for being a very warlike
648 nation. As early as in the time of the Incas, this tribe made a raid into ancient Peruvian territory,[2] and even as late as 1890 the Chiriguano

[1] Cf. Krickeberg (1), p. 134.
[2] Nordenskiöld (18).

C
Ce /34 cont./
756 most other Indians of South America, there is a professional
171 physician who is charged with the treatment of the sick, this
treatment in most cases consisting of sorcery among these
C Indians too. The physician attempts to dispel the evil by
Ce sucking out foreign objects which have penetrated the body of
755 the bewitched sick person. In addition to such treatment,
757 remedies are used among the Chiriguano and Chané, which,
[824] in addition to those made of plant substances, include the
[237] fat of various animals applied externally for different illnesses.
Ce The Chané treat wounds with boiling water.
752

Burial among the Chiriguano and Chané who live outside
C Ce the missions is generally still done in urns, according to
764 primordial custom. According to Nordenskiöld (149), the
415

149. Nord. 1, p. 208.

large pots in which chicha is prepared are also used as funeral urns, and another pot is used to close the urn. Often the dying person, even before being completely dead, or soon after death, is crammed into the urn in a squatting position. A calabash of water is placed with the dead person in the urn,
Ce which is buried within the house. Commonly the house, after
768 the burial, is abandoned for some time, but is occupied again
C later. Such a funeral urn of the Chiriguano of the Caipipendi
764 Valley is shown in a drawing by Erland Nordenskiöld (150).
415

150. Nord. 1, Fig. 113.

Up to half of the urn, which is provided with a cover, is disenterred. Nordenskiöld's statement that the Chiriguano use the same pots which serve for the preparation of meals as funeral urns is significant. From that we can deduce that a funeral urn found in other regions might also have served, during the lifetime of the dead person buried in it, some other purpose related to the economy of those Indians.

/53 cont./

12. Funerary Urns

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In the chapter on the treatment of illnesses and burial, I have already dealt with the Chiriguano custom of placing their dead inside funerary urns and of closing these with other vessels. According to Nordenskiöld (232), the large baked clay

232. Nord. 1, p. 278.

vessels used for preparing and keeping chicha also serve as funerary urns. Because among those Indians burial in funerary urns is a direct burial, that is, the entire corpse is placed within the urn, the vessels selected for funerary urns must be large enough to have room for the corpse of an adult. Unfortunately, I was unable to bring such large vessels from [126] Machareti. The largest of the vessels that I brought, 52 cm. and 62 cm. in height, are not big enough for an adult, and in particular their apertures on top, which measure only up to 24 cm., are too small to be able to squeeze in a dead person. Therefore, with reference to funerary urns and their respective tops, I refer to the drawing made by Nordenskiöld (233). Outes

233. Nord. 1, Fig. 113.

has published a Chiriguano vessel with a height of 27.5 cm. and an aperture on top of 27.5 cm., which had served as a funerary urn for a small child. With the urn was found a small baked clay dish approximately 6 cm. high (234).

234. Felix F. Outes, op. cit., p. 135 and Figs. 30 and 31.

Outes' data show that the vessels of the Chiriguano can reach quite large dimensions (235). Among the vessels

235. Felix F. Outes, op. cit., pp. 127 and 128.

C /53 cont./
764 described by him there is one which is 92 cm. high and has
415 an aperture at the top 70 cm. in diameter. Another is 110 cm. high and its maximum diameter measures 85 cm. In 1845, in Capirendá, Wedell found such vessels with a height of 120 cm. and a maximum diameter of 100 cm. for the wall of the belly.

C
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13. Various Vessels with No Indication Regarding Their Purpose, from the Collection

I. A. 410 (Chirig.). Ht. 14.5 cm. Max. dia. 8 cm. Apert. 5 cm. (Fig. 81b).
I. A. 411 ("). Ht. 13.5 cm. Length 21 cm. (Fig. 81a).
Ce
415
126
I. A. 597 (Izozó). " 10.5 cm. Max. dia. 16.7 cm. Apert. 15 cm. (Fig. 72).
I. A. 599 (") " 9 cm. " " 13 cm. " 10 cm. (Fig. 70a).

C
Ce
415
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We have no evidence regarding the purpose of these four vessels which are different in form from the other types of vessels. We must regard the small, double vessel I. A. 411 (cf. Fig. 81a /see p.144/) as a special result of the mixture of various, but different cultural elements. The way in which the two small dishes are joined to form a double vessel /54/ corresponds to ancient Peruvian models, while the form of the handle, fitted with a ring, is doubtless an addition of European origin. The whole has the form of a salt cellar and was perhaps made to be sold to the whites for this purpose. We must also consider the vessel I. A. 410 (cf. Fig. 81b /see p.144/) as merchandise, while the two vessels I. A. 597 and 599 seem to be manufactured for some use in festivities.

Ce
[439]

Baked Clay Spindle Whorls

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Ce
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The spindle whorls collected among the Chiriguano and Izozó are of baked clay or wood, and the Chiriguano also have some spindles with stone whorls. Because I shall deal with spindle whorls in the chapter on spinning, I wish only to

Cha
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with many bodies in it.

In the mountains of Salta and in the highlands of Jujuy there are graves ("Huacas") in the shape of small vaulted stone ovens (2) similar to those used in that locality by the country

2. Also called "trojes" ["granaries"--Translator].

people. There are often as many as three bodies in these graves squatting on their haunches and wrapped or covered with clothes and sometimes having beside them pans containing objects of silver and gold. Nowadays the Christian Indians descended from those Indians who were under the sway of Perú and the Incas, hunt around among these graves and gather the bones so as to have masses said for them (so they say) but they almost always find that the greed of others has been there before them so that although they find the bones they rarely come upon the precious objects which were buried with them. One cannot say what kind of clothing they wore for as soon as the graves are uncovered contact with the air reduces all to dust.

Chi
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The Chiriguanos of the Bolivian Chaco also place their dead in large pots or jars and bury them beneath the floor of their huts. Each house is thus a habitation for both the living and the dead and, be this either a cause or an effect, or both in combination, the fact is that the Chiriguanos are not nomadic. They paint the above mentioned jars with great care, the jars being of various types and variously decorated in accord with the wealth of the family concerned. The pots are fired and the glazing material, which is a sort of red, bad smelling tar, is applied either on [206] the unbaked or baked clay. If the former, the result is a more shiny, light colored finish, if the latter, then the end product is of a darker hue.

Chi
[323]

On the lid of the buried jar a fire is kept going for a whole month, doubtless (if this report is true) to destroy the foul gases given off by the rotting body.

Those Chiriguanos who are poor and cannot afford these jars bury their dead in a trench inside the hut and then move away until the bad odor has ceased.